

No. 2 -

LETTERS,

Anon.

FROM A

VENERATED NOBLEMAN,

RECENTLY RETIRED FROM THIS COUNTRY,

TO THE

EARL OF CARLISLE:

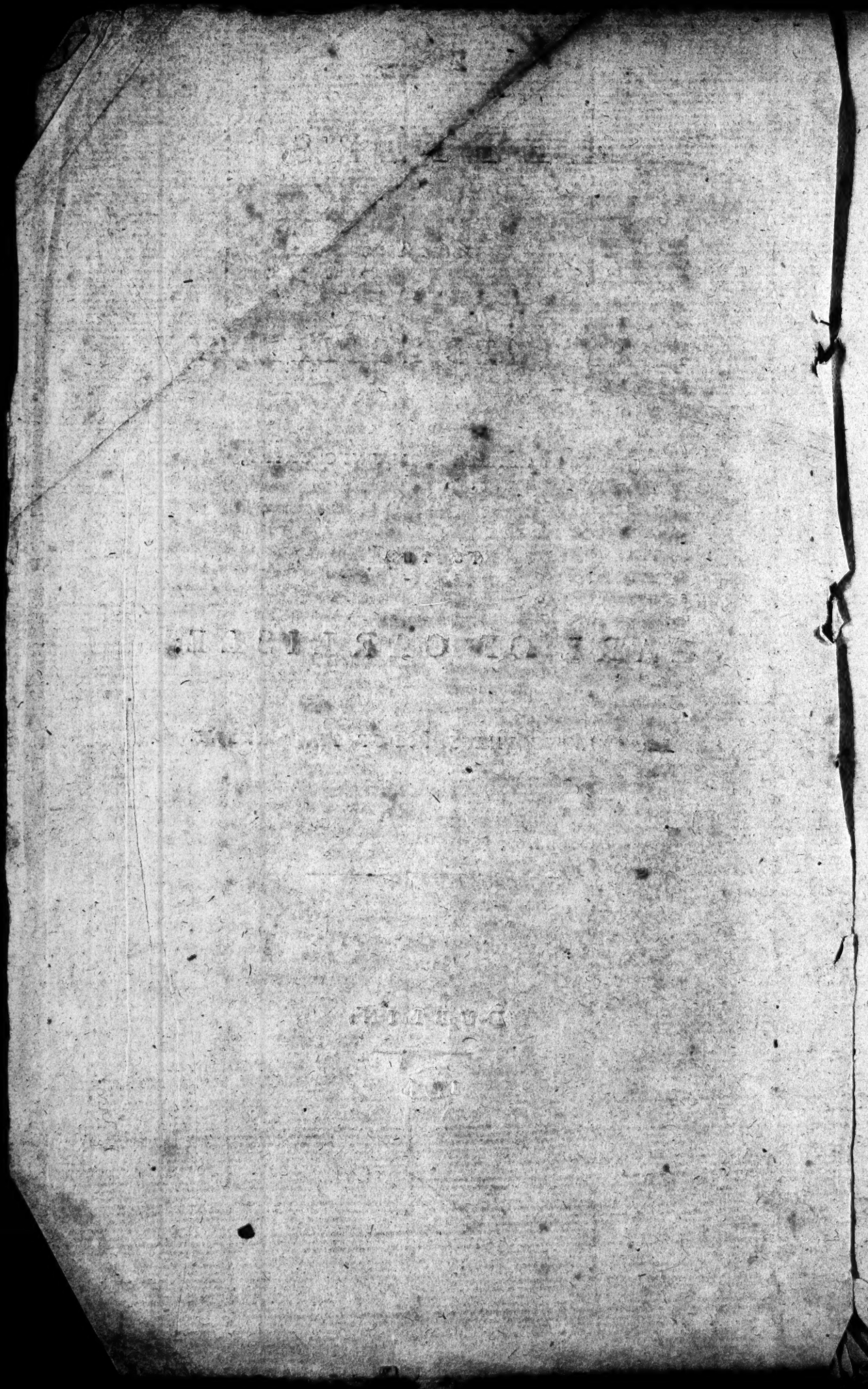
EXPLAINING THE CAUSE OF THAT EVENT.

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DUBLIN:

1795.

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# P R E F A C E,

BY THE PUBLISHER.

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THE following Letters are recommended to the careful perusal of all *Irishmen*. The extraordinary and unprecedented removal of the noble author from the government of this country, has occasioned, by this publication, a fuller display of the views of the *British Cabinet towards Ireland*, than could have been expected to be laid before the Public. Some things appear, which are truly interesting to those who wish for the happiness and independence of Ireland.

It appears, that "one of the objects, and that a principal one," of the best government, and the honestest chief governor that Ireland has experienced for a number of years, was, "to bring back consequence and dignity to English government" in this country. Why that should be necessary, if Ireland is independent, and the interest of both promoted by this alliance, is worth consideration.

It appears, that Lord Fitzwilliam thought it expedient to remove some gentlemen, who held offices under government. This must have arisen from his opinion of their incapacity or ill conduct: Nevertheless enormous provision was to be made for these gentlemen at the public expence.

It appears, that one of those gentlemen possessed "dangerous power—greater than a Lord Lieutenant;" that "opprobrium and unpopularity attended his mal-administration." This gentleman, though removed from power, was "to continue, in point of income, to the full, as well as ever;" and there "was

"was not a hair to be touched of any of his family or friends, who possess more emolument than any family in any country."

Why this exorbitant expence should be continued, or how the country is benefited by changes of this sort, where fresh salaries must be granted, to glut fresh rapacity, is not obvious.

It appears, "that the Catholic question was not intended to be brought forward, if it could be kept back;" and that the "arrangements" for the restoration of the Rights of the great majority of Irishmen, was to be kept "a profound secret, from even the Catholics," and "is known only to the British Cabinet, and a very few Protestants!" This, in an independent kingdom, is rather curious.

It appears, that the Cabinet of England think, that the deferring the granting their rights to the Catholics of Ireland, "may be the means of doing a greater service to the British empire, than it has been capable of receiving since the Revolution, or at least since the Union." If this does not point to a Union with England, to what does it allude?

It is worth remarking, in a business merely Irish, so little notice should be taken of the interest and wishes of Irishmen; and the more so, as we are told, that Ireland is a free and independent nation.



*THE FIRST*  
**L E T T E R,**

*Ec.*

**DEAR CARLISLE,**

**I** THANK you for your letter, and for the motives that induced you to write it: I know the warmth and truth of your friendship for me; and feel the sincerity of it, when you apprise me of all the calumnies, all the aspersions, all the false charges and insinuations that are levelled against my devoted head: but, standing as I find I do, single, naked, and unsupported, I tremble not: I am not dismayed, I feel the inward consciousness that, against whatever part of my conduct, whether as to measures or arrangements, the attack is principally to be levelled, I am able to defend its justice, wisdom and propriety. As yet, my dear Carlisle, but one side of the question has been heard: It has been heard only through the medium of insinuations and suspicions: through that of calumny and aspersion; under the mask of pretended regret, and of friendly concern for me and my character. Perhaps you yourself may have received your information, and taken your opinions from the very persons who have grossly betrayed, and unfeelingly abandoned me; whose counsels, maxims, and measures I have been pursuing; and for having pursued, I am now given up to every sort of obloquy, and every extent of disgrace.

**B**

**You**

You tell me, you have heard of the list of my dismissals with surprize and dismay. I long to know what dismissals they are, that have produced this wonderful effect.

I removed two clerks from office, placed in situations that required a certain degree of confidence, but perfectly subordinate, and of no offensibility; it might be sufficient for me to say, that neither I nor my chief Secretary, with whom they were in hourly intercourse, felt inclined to give them that confidence; or to suffer the business of their respective offices to be conducted on the system which we found had been lately introduced there.

In your days they were clerks, in mine I found them ministers. Other governments might have been managed upon such a system; mine could not. One of my objects, and that a principal one, was to bring back consequence and dignity to English government, and restore the castle its proper ministers; to have, in every subordinate office, persons content to manage it as such; and to shew that the government, as well in its patronage, as in all its various official details, was in no other hands but mine and Lord M----'s. Whether I left these persons the pens and ink of their office, with their usual salaries, or removing them, made compensation adequate to their services and pretensions, can never appear to me matter of such magnitude, as to spread dismay through the British cabinet. In this light it is really too ridiculous. But to take care of them was an act not only of propriety, but of justice. The thanks of one of them conveyed in writing, and expressed in personal conference with myself, within these two days, justify my intention to him. Mr. C---e indeed, whose tone and stile rendered his approach to a superior not to be supported, rejects my proposals in his favour, and thinks a retreat upon 1200l. a year an inadequate recompence for the magnitude and importance of his services.

I made proposals to the B---sh M---r for the removal of the A---y and S---r Generals: are these proposals, and with the terms and stipulations on which I suggested the adoption of them, among the causes that has spread this consternation? Mr. P--- and the D--- of P----- know perfectly well, that the men whom I found possessed of these ministerial offices, were not the men in whom I meant to confide, in the arduous measures I had to undertake. Was I then to have two sets of men, one possessing confidence without office, the other office without confidence? The absurdity must strike you and every body; and the delay of perfecting in England, the arrangements I proposed, in order to avoid the absurdity, exposed  
Lord



Lord M---n to a situation perfectly awkward, and which might have been highly embarrassing. But I can take my ground on the fact itself, independent of every other consideration: without meaning to depreciate the character of those gentlemen still in those offices, with respect to their professional merits, indisputably they were not men of parliamentary abilities: and you know it is principally upon the persons in those offices that G-----t relies both for the defence and display of their measures. I had a right therefore, to look for parliamentary abilities in the persons who filled those offices, and were to sit upon the T-----y B---ch; in them I did not find that qualification: in Mr. P-----y I found it in an eminent degree: his appointment the D--- of P-----d at all times considered as a thing to be done: it was the situation he always designed him, as that for which he was most peculiarly qualified, as well by his professional knowledge and talents, as by his parliamentary eloquence, and it was the only one in which he could serve me confidentially and ostensibly: that he should do so was as much the D--- of P-----d's recommendation, as it was my desire. If it had not been so, why did the D. of P-----d desire me to send for him to England, to consult upon the arrangement and plan of my G-----t? why did Mr. P----- admit him to consultations upon our arrangements and measures? The only objection that I ever remembered Mr. P----- to have suggested, was, that he wished him first to be S-----r G-----l, in order that he might not jump at once into the elevated station of A-----y G-----l, but rise by a regular gradation; but I never once concurred in this objection, because I knew Mr. P-----y had always fairly stated, both to the D--- of P-----d and to me, that he had another person in view for S-----r G-----l, to whom he and all his political connections were under an absolute engagement—the only one to which they were pledged. The great question then was, to make an easy and honourable retreat for the person who actually possessed the office of A-----y G-----l: that retreat was secured to him in the full meaning and intent of these expressions; unless it can be said, that a reversion for himself and his son of 2,300l. per annum, (and that daily augmenting) a peerage for his family, and an assurance on my part, that although removed from the immediate pretensions of his office, he still remained the person in my contemplation to fill the first vacancy of a Chief's seat on the Bench, was not an easy and honourable retreat, “but a punishment for sins not committed against my a-----n.”

With respect to the S———r G———l: considering his pretensions, I conceive, that, had my proposals been carried into effect, I should have done equally well by him. The world thinks so, and judging from his manner towards Lord M. and me, I have every reason to believe that he joins in the common opinion.

And now for the grand question about Mr. B———d. In a letter of mine to Mr. P——t on this subject, I reminded him of a conversation, in which I had expressed to him (in answer to the question put to him by me) my apprehensions, that it would be necessary to remove that gentleman, and that he did not offer the slightest objection, or say a single word in favour of Mr. B———d. This alone would have made me suppose, that I should be exempt from every imputation of breach of agreement, if I determined to remove him; but when, on my arrival here, I found all those apprehensions of his dangerous power, which Mr. P——t admits I had often represented to him, were fully justified; when he was filling a situation greater than that of the L——d L———t, and when I clearly saw, that if I had connected myself with him, it would have been connecting myself with a person under universal heavy suspicions, and subjecting my government to all the opprobrium and unpopularity attendant upon his mal-ad———n—What was then to be my choice—what the decision I had to form? I could not hesitate a moment: I decided at once, not to cloud the dawn of my ad———n by leaving in such power and authority, so much imputed malversation; but in doing this, I determined, while I meant to curtail him of his power, and to shew to the nation that he did not belong to my a———n, to let him remain in point of income, as well, to the full, as he had ever been; I did not touch, and he knew I had determined not to touch, a hair of the head of any one of his family or friends; and they are still left in the full enjoyment of more emolument than ever was accumulated in any country upon any one family. To the odium of doing so I submitted, rather than incur the risque of displeasing my colleagues, by infringing the emolument of a person professing great attachment to them; though indeed, at the same time, I had no slight ground of doubting the sincerity of those professions. This then, is the list of my dismissions; by these I have punished sins not committed against me; and by these I have drawn down upon my head the censure of my Sovereign, even at the risque of the peace of this kingdom, and have deserved to be abandoned by those in whom I most trusted, and to whose support



support I had every right that the most sincere affection, the most implicit confidence, unbounded reliance and invariable attachment could give to depend on. But one more short word on this part of the subject—the dismissals. When were those dismissals made, and when announced to the British Cabinet? Before the meeting of Parliament. When did their criminality, and the enormity of their offence, first commence?—It was when, under the credit of my ad——n, perhaps derived from those very causes, the Parliament had submitted to unparralleled burthens, not solely for the purpose of providing for the internal security of this kingdom, by the most ample and formidable military establishments, but likewise by lending its assistance to the empire at large, in the hour of its greatest distress, by aids great and munificent beyond all example; then commenced the breach of all faith and agreement on my part; then, and not till then, did these dismissals assume the character of “heinous unpardonable criminality;” then did my a——n become mischievous and ruinous to this kingdom, dangerous to his Majesty’s service, and subversive of the supremacy of English government in Ireland.

But it appears that not only my arrangements, but my measures also, have created the most universal surprize and dismay. “Persons, it seems, the most connected with me, have precipitately opened measures, which cannot be contemplated without terror;” and all this I have permitted to be done, “before I had time to judge with my own understanding.” Am I then, that light, weak, and easy man, that in matters of the highest import to the service, with which I have been entrusted, I should have abandoned my judgment, and committed my decisions to others, without consulting my own understanding? If so, it were much to be wished that the discovery had been made before last July; before I had been compelled by incessant solicitations, and the most urgent importunities, to undertake the arduous task for which I and mine have relinquished all our comforts. Egregiously must have you been misled, my dear Carlisle, if such has been the light in which my proceedings on the Catholic question have been represented to you; my correspondence with the Secretary of S——e for this department will give you very different impressions; and, as my friend, I desire you will apply to see it. I will not enter with you into the policy of this great question, as I have referred you to a correspondence, where, I trust, you will find the reasons on which I grounded the measures which I proposed to be adopted in the progress of it.

The

The chief cause of discontent with me on this head, you represent to be-- the precipitancy with which those measures were opened; and to that I shall confine myself in answer to it.

You will recollect that the measure of emancipation to the Catholics, was originally the measure of Mr. P---t, and the W-----d administration. The most strenuous and zealous friends of my predecessor claimed the credit of it for their patron, in terms of the highest compliment: They did it in the House of C---s; they did it in the House of L---ds last night. The persons whom Lord W-----d then principally consulted, opposed it; but the open interference of Lord H---t, and the avowed determination of the British Cabinet, communicated as well to the Catholic agents on the spot, as through the medium of confidential persons sent over to England for that purpose, bore down their opposition. The declarations both of Mr. P---t and Mr. D-----s on the occasion, are well known in this country, and are often quoted: "They would not risque a rebellion in Ireland on such a question." But what they would not risque under Lord W-----d's administration, they are not afraid to risque under mine, when the jealousy and alarm, which certainly at the first period, pervaded the minds of the Protestant body, exist no longer, when not one Protestant corporation, scarcely an individual, has come forward to deprecate and oppose the indulgence claimed by the higher order of Catholics; when even some of those who were most alarmed in 1793, and were then the most violent opposers, declare the indulgences now asked, to be only the necessary consequences of those granted at that time, and positively essential to secure the well-being of the two countries.

But after all, why did not Mr. P---t warn me of those horrid consequences, previous to my departure for Ireland, if he really felt them? Why was the subject left open for my judgment and discretion? It was because he himself approved the principle, and he knew that I would not have undertaken the mission, unless I had been left unrestrained. How then stands the question? Doubtless if I had not found on my arrival, that the subject was in actual agitation, and that there was a certainty of its being brought immediately forward, before Parliament, I should not at this critical moment have stirred it. There was a possibility that it might provoke some  
Protestant



Protestant discontent, and this I conceived to be a circumstance that ought most cautiously to be avoided, provided the considerations, that had been discussed between my colleagues and me in England, did not appear to me to outweigh it.

The points then to be considered are these: If the *general principle* of conceding to the Catholics was only taken up by me on my arrival here, without previous agreement on the part of the B--sh Ministers, and without my having reason to expect their subsequent concurrence: if the only point reserved for consideration was the time and manner of bringing forward the measure, and if it was not implicitly left to my discretion to judge of that manner and time: If I did not take every proper precaution to exercise that discretion, and to obtain information by every means within my reach: If I yielded to the necessity of giving way to the measure, before I had thoroughly examined the practicability and policy of putting it off: If these things are so, then I stand convicted: Then I must be content to have laid at my door the ferment and distraction which resistance to the Catholic pretensions and my recall from the Gov---t have raised. But if the converse of this be true, then the verdict must be given in my favor; and to the events that may hereafter confirm that verdict, I too look forward with as much terror and dismay as you or any person whatever; perhaps with more, because I am at hand to see how great and imminent the danger is: But perhaps it will be better to state the transaction. I arrived here with the recommendations of the B--sh Cabinet, and the point committed by them to my decision, strongly impressed upon my mind: I had conversations with most respectable persons upon this important subject, and at first I entertained hopes that the question might lie dormant for the present session, as my first letters will evince; but a few days shewed me, that these hopes would prove nugatory. I found that the matter was already on foot, and I have the best grounds for believing that on the day of the D-- of P---'s kissing hands, it was determined to bring it forward this session. All the old friends with whom he had acted when he was here as Lord L---t, and whom it was concluded he would again call to his councils, on taking to himself the government, of which there was at that time a general expectation, were known, from their public declarations, and from their proceedings in parliament, to intend a full and complete emancipation; his own opinions were universally believed to coincide with his Irish friends; as, to my knowledge, they certainly

certainly did. Immediately measures were therefore taken by the Catholics, preparatory to the expected change of a———n here; and by the time of my arrival, the petitions which have been since laid before the House of Commons, were in complete readiness. When I had fully satisfied myself by every information that I could gain, that this was the real state of the affair; and when I found that any attempt of mine to stop it for the present would be useless; it gave me great satisfaction to find that the business had been put into the hands of my friend Mr. Grattan, by the Catholics; as it gave me an opportunity of knowing every thing that was intended, and of consulting upon it with the C——t in London, previous to its being publicly known. When once the Catholics had positively decided to bring forward this question, even if I had not previous consultation with my colleagues on the business, under such circumstances I should have thought it right and expedient to gain credit and strength to the administration, by yielding to the general wish; but the fact is, that while I was following my own opinions and inclinations, I was following their directions; and I strictly complied with them; when finding that the general disposition was not to be resisted, I resolved to give the measure a handsome and cordial support on the part of government. The happy effects of this determination I fully experienced. You have been told, I perceive, that the bill was brought in, precipitately: This is not the fact. Leave to bring in the bill has certainly been moved for by Mr. G——n, but not a line of the bill itself ever produced. There appeared a rising impatience among the Catholics, after the delivery of their petitions, which made me apprehend that the measure might be transferred from the hands of Mr. G——n to those of another, with whom I might have no connection, and consequently over whom I could have no hopes of controul, or to have communication, however much I might wish it. There was no want of candidates for this honour; there were enough greedy to seize upon it. I therefore desired Mr. G. to take possession of the business, that I might be sure of myself having controul over the management of the bill. By this means, the plan and extent of the measure is now known only to the B——sh C——t, to whom I have submitted it; and it remains a profound secret to every Roman Catholic, and to every Protestant, except to the very few of the latter description, to whom I have thought proper to confide it. Of these the Primate was the first; and Ministers are already possess of his



his opinions on the subject : They are equally in possession of every information respecting men's minds and tempers, which I am able to give : with respect to the merits of the case, abstracted from the local circumstances, surely it would be presumption in me to pretend to dictate to them ; I have represented clearly and distinctly my own opinions, but they are capable of deciding and judging for themselves : In the way I have managed they have an opportunity of doing it before the bill is introduced ; so that if they do not agree with Mr. Grattan's, (in which I heartily concur) and if they do not come up to the extent claimed and expected by the Catholics, they have had time previous to the introduction of the bill, to suggest any expedients, modifications or limitations they may think proper to introduce ; thus by my management, g——t will do this without incurring the odium of narrowing an original proposition, and defeating hopes once realized. Thus then I made myself master, as well of the time of bringing the measure forward, as for consulting on the points to be conceded : for, as to resisting altogether, I should have belied my own conviction, and betrayed my situation, if I did not represent, as I have repeatedly done, that it would not only defeat every hope I had formed for the general security and defence of the country, but be attended with a certainty of the most alarming and fatal consequences. Of this, as I have already observed to you, every day presented me with additional, indisputable proofs. The alarm that has been universally spread by the rumour of the measures being to be resisted, the language of every person with whom I converse, even of the boldest of its former opposers, the resolutions and addresses from the city, echoed already from the cities of Cork, Derry and the Co. Kildare, and actually adopted through every part of the kingdom ; the debates of these last days in the House of C——, all these must prove to you that my representations were at least nothing short of the truth. I trust that the evil genius of England will not so far infatuate its Ministers, as to induce them to wait for more decisive corroborations of the faithfulness and honesty with which I have warned them of the danger of persisting in their fatal change of opinion on this momentous question : I trust they will perceive before it be too late, that the measures which I thought it my duty to suggest, are the only measures that can secure the good understanding between the two countries ; which, as you may observe, it was our plan to obtain by the best means we could ; and without which, the most serious calamities may arise to both nations.

The prospect of having this plan defeated may, and will plunge you, and every well-wisher to his country, in that "affliction and consternation in which," you say, "you are lost." But let those be answerable, to whose councils alone that misfortune must be attributed; to those who, though rashly and precipitately taking their opinions from secret, unavowed, insidious informations, and in direct and open contempt of the official communications of the person intrusted by his majesty with the government of this kingdom, in the very midst of a critical session of p——t, and while the measures were yet pending, which were to provide for the safety, and perhaps for the very existence of the country, formed the desperate resolution to change the whole of their system, on a question which, they knew and admit, would involve in its decision—that safety and that existence; and then, while in fact, the whole proceeding is to be traced to the M——r, who, imposing on his colleagues, risks all, rather than not extend his protection to those whom he considers as his exclusive friends, screen themselves by endeavouring to throw on me the censure of having "changed The decided points on which I had taken my decision to embark, and of having been hurried into the adoption of measures here, which could not have had the previous approbation of M——s in England, or subsequently obtained their concurrence." You have already seen how false and how groundless that accusation is with respect to the Catholic question. It is equally so in every other respect. The measure of arranging the T——y Bench, the bare outline or rather the principle of which has been stated in the House, preparatory to its introduction, was fully agreed on between Sir J——n P——l and Mr. P——. Nothing was left unsettled but the detail, and this would have been submitted to the British Cabinet, as the detail of the Catholic business has been submitted to them, previous to its discussion in the House. These are the only measures I have attempted in Parliament, except the supplies, and the defence of the country. Are these the measures on which I am to be accused? am I to expect to be arraigned, from a general opinion—that I had not obtained the previous concurrence of Ministers? when on the faith of my Government, the reputations of the persons whom I had called to my councils, and principally because I was known to stand unconnected with those for whom my Government is now subverted; the House of Commons of Ireland had unanimously granted me the largest supplies that have ever been demanded. When I had procured an army infinitely superior in numbers



bers to whatever had been voted before in this kingdom---when I laid a foundation for encreasing the established force of the country, and procured a vote of two hundred thousand pounds towards the general defence of the empire; will my friends enquire why, in all the correspondence of the British Ministry, I have never received a line to express the least satisfaction, the least approbation of these my successful exertions in his Majesty's service? Why, to the eve of my recall, they never deigned even to notice, or to give a word of an answer, while I repeatedly called for instructions how I should proceed, in giving these measures their best effect towards the general service? and why, at the very moment when I was going on with the united confidence, and support of Parliament, and People, in rapidly promoting internal tranquillity, and successfully providing for foreign defence, the Ministry of England instead of co-operating with my zeal, or forwarding my intentions, were through one channel cavilling with me on petty arrangements, and the jobs of intriguing individuals; and through another (the channel of my friends) abandoning and betraying me.

You express an earnest wish that I may yet be able to reside: I certainly cannot. But I am certainly prepared to meet, confute, and retort that criminating opinion however general you may represent it to be on your side of the water, that I and my advisers have been hasty and precipitate. There is indeed another opinion, which you say is equally general, that I shall be most anxious to confirm. Whatever it may cost my feelings, I shall not forget the duty I owe to his Majesty, or neglect the trust he has been graciously pleased to repose in me: A sense of my own honor, and what I owe to myself, will unite with whatever my country has a right to expect from me. In imposing upon me this task, I shall omit no "personal sacrifice that may tend to the ease of his Majesty's government, or the advancement of his service," as far as depends on my influence, during the short period of my retaining the authority with which he so lately condescended to invest me. If in the hands of those, to whom I have been directed to transmit that authority, his Majesty's government shall feel embarrassments that may affect the general administration, I have the unanimous testimony of both his Houses of P-----t here, I have their unanimous proceedings to prove that no such embarrassments existed in my days, and that I had no such to fear.

I had

I had resolved never to enter in the most distant degree, on any defence of my conduct, until I should be admitted into his Majesty's closet, where alone I should deign to answer the unjust charges, that are urged against me. The desire of satisfying a friend, who, I know is interested in my reputation and happiness, has imperceptibly led me into this rapid sketch of all my proceedings, since my arrival here; as I have done it, I not only have no objection, but I even wish, that you will shew it to as many persons as you shall think proper.

THE



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*THE SECOND*

L E T T E R,

*Sc.*

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*MY DEAR LORD,*

**A**S I find that the several subjects of crimination that have been urged against me, are settling all into one point; and that, if I am to judge of the declaration and proceedings of Mr. P---'s friends, from the English newspapers, generally known to speak the language of Government, the grand head of attack is to be--the mischief I have caused by agitating the Catholic question; I think it essential to trouble you once more with my defence, and to submit an observation to you, which did not appear so essential to me at the time I was writing to you last. I then contented myself with referring you to my correspondence with the cabinet of England on the Catholic measure; I shall now myself enter into a review of that correspondence. It contains a full and adequate vindication of my conduct, and will prove two things: First, that the Catholic question entered for nothing into the real cause of my recal; and secondly, that from the very beginning, as well as in the whole proceedings of that fatal business, for such I fear I must call it, I acted in perfect conformity with the original outline settled between me and his Majesty's ministers, previous to my departure from London.

From

From a full consideration of the real merits of the case, as well as from every information I had been able to collect of the state and temper of Ireland, from the year 1793, I was decidedly of opinion that, not only sound policy, but justice required, on the part of Great Britain, that the work which was left imperfect at that period, ought to be completed, and the Catholics relieved from every remaining disqualification. In this opinion the Duke of P----- uniformly concurred with me; and when this question came under discussion, previous to my departure for Ireland, I found the Cabinet, with Mr. P----- at their head, strongly impressed with the same conviction. Had I found it otherwise, I never would have undertaken the g-----t. I at first proposed that if the additional indulgences should be offered from the Throne, the very best effects would be secured by this act of unsolicited graciousness, and the embarrassing consequences, which it was natural to foresee, must result from the measures being left open for any volunteer to bring forward, would be timely and happily avoided: but to this proposal objections were stated that appeared of sufficient weight to induce the adoption of another plan. I consented not to bring the question forward on the part of G-----t, but rather to endeavour to keep back, until a period of more general tranquillity, when so many material objects might not press upon the Government; but as the principle was agreed on, and the necessity of its being brought into full effect was universally allowed, it was at the same time resolved that if the Catholics should appear determined to stir the business, and to bring it before Parliament, I was to give it an handsome support on the part of G-----t.

I was no sooner landed, and informed of the real state of things here, than I found that this question would force itself upon my *immediate* consideration: Faithful to the system that had been agreed on, and anxious to obtain the object that had been committed to my discretion, I lost not a moment in gaining every necessary information, or in transmitting the result to the British Cabinet: as early as the 8th January last, I wrote the S-----y of S-----e on the subject: I told him that I trembled about the Catholics; that I had great fears about keeping them quiet for the Session—that I found the question was already in agitation—that a committee was appointed to bring forward a petition to Parliament, praying for a repeal of all remaining disqualifications: I mentioned my intentions of immediately using what efforts I could, to stop the progress of it, and to bring the Catholics back to a confidence



dence in Government : I stated the substance of some conversation I had on the subject with some of the principal persons of the country : It was the opinion of one of these, that if the postponing of the question could not be negotiated on grounds of expediency, it ought not to be resisted by government ; that it should be put off for some time, was allowed to be a desirable thing, but the *principle of concession* was, at the same time strongly insisted on, and forcibly inculcated, as a matter not only wise, but necessary to the public tranquillity.

From the day of the date of this letter, I unremittingly applied myself to the collecting of further information : I had heard that the Committee had prepared an address to me : before I should receive it, I wished to know the opinion of those whom the Committee called the *Seceders*—the noblemen and principal landed gentlemen of that persuasion.

In a letter of the 15th of January, I acquainted the S— of S— of the result of these conferences, and of the progress of the business, subsequent to my former letter : I told him that in the absence of the nobleman who was considered as the head of the *Seceders*, I had sent for a person of the most tried and acknowledged moderation amongst them, and of the first consequence and property ; I found by him, (which the nobleman above alluded to afterwards confirmed) that he, and every person of his description, were in perfect union with the Committee ; that they all decidedly looked to the same object ; that they were determined never to lose sight of it ; that provided it should be obtained, they had no objection that Mr. Byrne, or the other members of the Committee, should have the honor of taking the lead in it. I mentioned my having, after this conversation, received the address ; that in my answer, which I transmitted, I had endeavoured to keep clear of all specific engagements whatever ; though at the same time, avoiding every thing that could be construed into a rejection of what they were ALL looking to ; the repeal of the remaining restrictions, and, (what comes immediately to the point) I concluded by declaring—that I should not do my duty, if I did not distinctly state it as my opinion that, not to grant cheerfully, on the part of Government, ALL the Catholics wished for, would not only be exceedingly impolitic, but perhaps dangerous ; that in doing this *no time was to be lost* ;—that the business would be *presently* at hand—and that the first step I took would be of infinite importance : that if I received *no very peremptory* instructions to the contrary, I should acquiesce. I meant—as well in the time,

as

as in the mode of proceeding, and the *extent of the demands*; for, as a measure considered generally, I would conceive no necessity of waiting for any new instructions, on which to decide: of this I reminded the S——y of S——e, “convinced, I said, as we all were of the necessity, as well as fitness of the measure taking place at no distant period; I was decidedly of opinion, that it ought no longer to be deferred.” The state of the country required this; and the disposition of the Catholics, among whom hesitation on the part of Government might produce mischiefs to a degree beyond calculation. You will not forget that all this passed within the first fortnight after my arrival, and before the meeting of Parliament. Thus early were Ministers in possession of the opinion and determination which, in the exercise of my discretionary powers, I had formed on the subject: they knew that the question was in agitation—that a petition to Parliament had been determined on, and was to be immediately presented: They were acquainted with the extent of the Catholic demands; they knew that it could not be kept back; that no time was to be lost, and that if I did not receive their instructions to the contrary, I should, in the spirit of the system that had been agreed on, immediately acquiesce to the full extent of the Catholic expectations.

This then was the time for his his M——y’s M——s to come forward with their fears and their alarms, if they had so suddenly changed their minds on the subject; and if they had at length *discovered* that this, which was to be both with their knowledge and consent, a leading measure of my administration, led to consequences “that could not be contemplated without horror and dismay:” this was the time for them to inform me of this change; they knew that it was my opinion that not a moment was to be lost; and consequently, that, if I did not receive peremptory instructions to the contrary, I was prepared to consent, without an appearance of hesitation, that the measure should go forward: did they send me these peremptory instructions? did they state to me, as they afterwards did, that it was the unanimous opinion of the cabinet—that I should stop short; that I should *abstain from all engagements, or even encouraging language*, in that quarter, until I should receive their further instructions.

Not a word of the kind: my regular correspondence went on; I received frequent letters from the S——y of S——, and not even a hint was thrown out on the subject.



In a letter of the 7th of January, I proposed the removal of Mr. W——, on certain terms of accommodation, in order to make room for Mr. G—— P——y to act as my A——y G——l: this letter went by the same mail with my letter of the 8th, to which I have alluded above: on the 13th of January, the S——y of S—— writes me an answer to this very letter: He informs me that the King had consented to Mr. W——'s peerage, which was one of the terms I had there proposed; and touches lightly upon an objection against another, (that of holding out to Mr. W—— the promise of succeeding to a Chief Justice's place) on the supposition that he was to quit his practice at the Bar; a supposition by the way that never had the smallest foundation. But not a word on the Catholic question—not a single observation on what I stated so strongly, respecting my fears of not being able to keep it quiet during the session.

The 2d of February came, and of that date I find a second letter from the Secretary of State on the subject of Mr. W——; but here again he confined himself to that subject alone; and my letter of the 13th of January, which must have been so many days in his hands, was not even noticed. That letter, to which I so earnestly required, and in which in itself called for an explicit, an immediate and peremptory answer—that letter, from which they knew, that if not timely instructed, and timely checked, the Catholic question would presently receive from me a cheerful acquiescence; yet in the interval, from the receipt of it, till the 2d of February, although he wrote twice on other subjects, he says not a word of the precipitancy with which I was plunging into a matter so big with danger to the empire; not even a hint that I should proceed with more caution or circumspection in a measure that was to subvert the constitution and establishment in this kingdom: the fact was, that neither he nor the Cabinet entertained at that time any such fears—they then apprehended no such danger. It was another business that opened their eyes to all the mischiefs of my councils; a business that soon rung such an alarm as brought down upon me that tempest of fears, and terrors, and remonstrances, under which I have sunk.

At the close of the letter of the 15th of January, alluded to above, I had mentioned the dismissal of Mr. B——d. This intelligence does not seem to have caused the smallest degree of alarm in the breast of the S—— of S——.

In this letter of the 2d of February, when it appears that he must have received the information for several days, he takes not the least notice of it; and it further appears, from a letter of Mr. Windham's to Lord Milton, that his Grace was equally

unacquainted with the alarm which the intelligence of the transaction conveyed indirectly to Mr. P. by Mr. B—rd himself, had caused in that quarter. However this may have been, the attack upon me was, in the mean time, meditating, although perhaps unknown to his Grace.

This letter of Mr. Windham's was the first intimation I received of the least discontent among my colleagues in England, at my conduct since my arrival. The Duke of P—d had indeed, in one letter, stated some objections about the terms of Mr. W—'s removal; and in another about Mr. G. P—y's appointment; but nothing that could indicate discontent: but Mr. Windham's letter was soon followed by one from Mr. P— on the 9th of February; that gentleman wrote to me to expostulate on the dismissal of Mr. B—d, [and on the negotiations with Mr. W—e and Mr. T—r. This formed the whole matter of his letter, and to this alone he confined his remonstrances; yet he had a fair opportunity of touching on the measures of my government, but he concluded his letter by making an apology "for interrupting my attention from the many important considerations of a different nature, to which all our minds ought to be directed."

The task of bringing forward the Catholic question, he had, it seems, committed to another. By the same mail, and in a letter dated the 8th, the very day before Mr. P. had written to me, came a letter from the Sec. of S—e, touching *at length*, on this important subject, and bringing it, for the *first time*, into play, as a question of any doubt or difficulty with the British Cabinet: then, as if the question had been started for the first moment between us, as if it never had been the subject of any former consultation, plan or arrangement whatever, he writes—of enabling the King's ministers to form their judgment, as to the *policy, expediency, safety and necessity* of that measure: then, as if he had never before heard from me on the subject, he cautions against committing myself by *engagements*, or even by *encouraging language*, (so minute is his Grace) to give my countenance to the immediate adoption of this measure. Then, for the first time, it appears to have been discovered, that the deferring it would not be merely an expediency, or a *thing to be desired* for the present; but "the means of doing a greater service to the British empire than it has been capable of receiving since the revolution, or at least since the union." All former opinions, all former discussions, all former agreements, the leading principle of our being, all convinced of the necessity, as well as fitness of the measure taking place at no distant period, of which I reminded the Ministers in my letter of the 15th of January—all were forgotten;



gotten; and he feels it his duty, *for the first time*, in consequence of the discussion of this question in the Cabinet *the day before*, to exhort me to use those efforts which I had expressed an intention of trying; efforts, of the efficacy of which I had expressed the strongest doubts, on the 8th of January, when I first mentioned my intention of trying them—efforts, every hope from which I had relinquished on the 15th, when I warned them of the necessity of immediately giving way, when I earnestly called upon them for peremptory instructions, which if I should not receive, I should acquiesce. Efforts, which they knew from the whole series of my correspondence, it was impossible ever to attempt, without evident and certain danger.

From this period every thing went on rapidly towards my removal. From my knowledge of the person I had to deal with, I was resolved myself to bring the business to the real point at issue between us, and to leave him no subterfuge: Cruelly as the D— of P—d has treated me, I feel no difficulty to say, that his judgment was deceived before he abandoned me; on whatever grounds he has suffered himself to be induced to change his former opinions respecting the politics of this country, and the characters and views of its principal personages, he did change those opinions; and, in consequence of that change alone, he has been driven to consent to the measure of my instant recal: But, I was not so deceived: I combined all the circumstances which I have detailed to you in this letter: I perceived immediately the scheme that was laid against me; and I resolved on the only means I saw left to bring the matter to so speedy an issue as should preserve my honour and vindicate my public character. In my answer to Mr. P—, a copy of which I send you, and which I wrote the very night I received his letter, I entered fully into the subject of my dismissals. I stated, as you will see, my reasons for having determined on them, as well as for adhering to them when once resolved on; reasons, of which, from your knowledge of this country, you will I am sure, admit the justice: I then put it to himself to determine for me, and the efficacy of my government: I left to him to make his choice between Mr. B— and me.

The same night, I wrote to the D— of P—d: I testified my surprize to him that after such an interval of time, and after the various details which I had transmitted to him, advising him of the hourly increasing necessity of bringing forward the Catholic question, and the impolicy and danger of resisting or even hesitating about it, I should now be pressed *for the first time*, to defer the question till some future occasion. I

refused to be the person to run the risk of such a determination : I refused to be the person to raise a flame in the country that nothing short of arms could be able to keep down : I then alluded to Mr. P—'s letter ; appealed to his knowledge of the situation of a L—d L— ; and left him to determine, whether, if he was not to be supported, he ought not to be removed. These letters I wrote on the 14th of February. Shortly after came two official letters from the D— of P—d, dated the 16th, in which he enters into a long detail of the various points of view in which the cabinet wished to have the question of the Catholics considered : with these came a private letter of his own, dated the 18th. In this his Grace dwells most particularly on the necessity of having information submitted to them on all these points, and a detailed plan of all the additional advantages intended to be conceded to the Catholics : he observes, that if the consideration of this great question could be deferred till the peace was established, he should have no doubt but that it would be attended with advantages, which perhaps, are not to be hoped for in any other supposable case : but he added, (I beg you will attend to this) "that it was surely going too far, to infer from any thing that he had said, that I was desired to undertake the task of deferring it to that period. If the cabinet were to accede, what they desired was, to be justified in that accession by a free and impartial investigation of facts, of circumstances and of opinions ; among which, as of reason, mine would have the most decisive weight ; and as I had expressed a wish to have the mode considered in England, whilst it was still within my reach to have it limited or modified, before the bill was introduced, and before the plan was known to the Catholics, he wished to have this plan and the heads of the bill transmitted for consideration."

If any thing was wanting to confirm me in my opinion, that the D— of P— had suffered himself to be completely duped, and deceived in this business, a comparison of this letter, with what immediately followed, would, be alone sufficient to establish that conviction. At the moment of his writing this letter, there was not "a fact," a circumstance, "or an opinion," that could be transmitted to him, of which he was not in possession. He acknowledges himself, and frequently refers to my letter of the 10th of February, in which he had the plan, wherein every thing that regarded the constitution, the ecclesiastical establishment, and the settlement of property was stated. He had the Primate's opinion on some ideas that his Grace had suggested. In a letter of mine, dated the 20th, he had still more ample details on these various heads ; but for these details, which were to have the most decisive weight,



weight, he was not suffered to wait : the decision had been already formed before he had called for them. The very day after he had written that letter, in which he had pressed me for more information, he assisted at the denouement of the piece. He assisted at the Cabinet meeting, that unanimously concurred in the necessity of recalling me ; and in a letter of the 21st, sums up all the reasons why that measure was deemed necessary, without one dissenting voice, for the very preservation of the empire. Can any thing be more self-evident ; or, in order to account for the real causes of my recal, did it require that this letter should be accompanied as it was by one from Mr. P--- of the same date ; accepting in fact the alternative I proposed to him, declaring himself fully prepared for the event, however he might lament it. It is true indeed, that for the very first time, he mentions the Catholic business, and declares his concurrence in the general desire of the Cabinet, to prevent any further progress being made in Mr. G---n's Bill, *till they should receive and consider the information which they thought it their duty to call for* ; but by the desertion of all my friends, and by the prospect of my falling, alone, Mr. P--- was prepared to throw out this, as a matter on which to amuse his colleagues for the moment, and the public at a future period ; while to myself, without allowing a moment's further deliberation, he boldly and peremptorily pronounces on what I had determined to be the point to decide on my government. On the subject of arrangements, he felt bound to adhere to these sentiments, not only with respect to Mr. B-----d, but to the line of conduct adopted "in so many instances towards the former supporters of Government ; by these sentiments, he must, at all events be guided from a regard to the King's service, and to his own honour, however sincerely he might lament the consequences which must arise from the present situation."

Need I add any comment on this letter ? need I observe to you, that the measure of the Roman Catholics, on which it is now asserted my administration was determined, is here reserved for future consideration ; whilst the subject of arrangement is finally and peremptorily decided ? At all events, and independent of every other consideration, his own honour obliges him not to give way on that subject ; and however he laments it, he acquiesces in what I had positively declared to him should be the consequence of such a decision on his part.

Let my friends therefore, my dear Carlisle, no longer suffer the Catholic question to be mentioned, as entering in the most distant degree into the causes of my recal. Let them listen no longer to that terrifying enumeration of evils and miseries to  
result

result to the Empire from a measure which my enemies affect to have considered either as originating with myself exclusively, or as hurried on by me rashly, precipitately, or without consent or consultation: You have seen, when the dread of these miseries was first conceived, and when the complaint of this want of consultation was first brought forward: had Mr. B——d never been dismissed, we never should have heard of them, and I should have remained. But so remaining, I should have been disgraced indeed: disgraced by the failure of all the measures which I had planned for the public welfare, and loaded with all the odium which that man and his connections have entailed upon that government which I was sent to displace. But it will be said, that in proving this point so strongly, I still leave myself open to other accusations, which affect my character, when I avow the earnestness which I had determined to pull down the power of the B——ds. I submit to the imputation of wishing to raise the P——ys; it was only a family acquiring consequence and a family losing it, according to an insinuation of a letter to me from one of the cabinet. Am I then so little known to my friends? Is it my character in the world that, whilst I pretend to the public good, and the King's service, I am insidiously consulting my private interests? and, instead of my country, have only my own connections in view? I think, my dear Carlisle, you would be sorry to see me condescend to enter into the merits of such an accusation. But by my dismissing Mr. B——, I broke my engagements with Mr. P——, so he himself states it. I acted, as he pretends in his letter, inconsistently with that principle by which alone the full advantage of the union which had taken place in England could be extended to Ireland. Would he insinuate, that the union which had taken place in England, precluded every idea of removal? Was there no removal in the war-office? None in the post-office? None in the cabinet? Has there been no removal of his friends at the admiralty? and did Lord Spencer, on his succeeding Lord Chatham, act inconsistently with the spirit of the union, when he required such changes, and the constitution of such a board, as, judging for himself, should command his confidence? Could what was right and consistent in so many instances, be blameable in mine? Charged with the government of a distracted and discontented country, am I alone to be fettered and restrained in the choice of the persons by whom I am to be assisted? And, rather than indulge me in that single point, even considering it in the light of indulgence, must the ministers of England boldly say, I had almost said, the certainty, of driving this kingdom into a Rebellion, and open another breach,



breach, for ruin and destruction to break in upon us? Must I be interrupted in the course of the most unanimous session of Parliament the country ever seen? commanding, by my influence, and on the credit of the persons whom I had employed, and I must add, on the satisfaction I had given by one dismissal I had made, supplies and forces beyond every former example; and causing a spirit of union and harmony to succeed to that general discontent and disaffection, as well against the system of the former government in general, as against the war itself; which at the time of my arrival, manifestly and avowedly pervaded the bulk of the nation. And now, I think, I have sufficiently proved that the Catholic question entered for nothing into the cause of my dismissal; and have shewn, that as far as my conduct in Ireland had any thing to do with it, I have traced it to the dismissal of Mr. B——. But after all, why are we looking for the causes of my removal in the acts of my administration here?—we are seeking in vain: the true cause is not to be found among them: the fact is, we must go back to a more distant period. When the D—— of P—— and his friends were to be enticed into a coalition with Mr. P——'s administration, it was necessary to hold out such lures as would make the coalition palatable, or even possible for them to accede to. If the general management and superintendence of Ireland had not been offered to his Grace, that coalition could never have taken place. The sentiments that he had entertained, and the language he had held so publicly for many years back, on the subject, rendered it a point that could not be dispensed with; accordingly it was offered from the beginning of the negotiation; as was also the Home Department of S——y of S——: Ask the D—— of P——d, when he engaged to accept, if he doubted that the office offered to him, was to be entire, and such as his predecessors held it? ask him, if he was forewarned by Mr. P——, that it was to be divested of half its duties, half its importance, and all its character? ask him if he was apprized, that another S——y of S——e was to be made out of the department? and that he was to be left but a joint possessor, with an inmate? ask him when he accepted the management of Ireland, if he did it under any restrictions whatever? ask him if he pressed it upon me under any? and if he did not propose and recommend to lay myself out immediately, for making such arrangements in the government, as would enable me to restore peace, tranquillity and order in the country, and as would reconcile the general malis of the people?

But, my dear Carlisle, the instant we had proclaimed our acceptance, the scene began to open: then it was first discovered that

that the object of all this mighty work was, not to strengthen administration by an accession of character, but to debase, degrade and disgrace that character. When the junction was irrevocably avowed and declared, then the pretensions of Mr. Dundas to the continued management of the war were immediately brought forward; and a new office was to be cabbaged out of the D. of P.—d's, and an obvious diminution of his credit and authority was proclaimed. No sooner had I declared my acceptance of the L——y of Ireland, than delay interposed, and soon doubts and difficulties arose. It is a matter of public notoriety in this country, that Mr. P— assured Lord W——d, as early as August, that he should not be removed: and I know that I could bring evidence to prove that in the course of the Autumn, he pointed out my actual successor as the person to succeed my predecessor. No, Mr. P— did not wish for our assistance; but knowing the importance we gave to the system then pursuing relative to France, he snatched at the opportunity, and made that the means of disgracing our characters, and rendering us fit for no other service, but to be his vile tools and instruments. He thought that object perfected and complete; then he cared not how soon he traied us adrift, to all the disgrace and contempt it was his expectation and wish should attach upon our characters. Here then is the clue to all the mystery: here you see unravelled the real ground of my deposition and disgrace. To my measures Mr. P— has no objection; I predict that he will adopt them by the medium of my successor. I am not sure that he will not court the connections I have formed for government; for the person for whom he has pretended to contend so strenuously, he has no regard; and I doubt whether he will ever permit him to resume his station at the R——e B——d, though he is entitled to do it without a re-appointment; for, in fact he has never been out of office; and to get rid of me personally, has been the motive to every thing that has happened relative to Ireland.

I have the glory of being objectionable to Mr. P—; I feel it such: my character is not to be made vile and subservient: he has deposed me—but by it, I have the arrogance to say, he has deposed a faithful servant of the Crown, and a beneficial C——r for the people of Ireland, and a steadfast adherent to the unity of both nations. Believe me, &c. &c. &c.

*March, 1795.*